

STUDIES IN  
*COLIN CLOUT'S COME HOME AGAINE*

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS  
UNIVERSITY IN CONFORMITY WITH THE REQUIREMENTS FOR  
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

1932

BY

KATHRINE KOLLER

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BALTIMORE

1934



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AN EXTRACT FROM

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## CHAPTER

## SUMMARY

### I. Biographical Problems

#### i. Spenser and Raleigh

A study of the Relationship between these two men. Spenser's gratitude to Raleigh is shown in sonnets, dedicatory letters, in allusion, in the story of Timias in the *Faerie Queene* and in *Colin Clout's Come Home Againe*. It is suggested that the publication of *Colin Clout* was delayed from 1591 to 1595 for Raleigh's benefit, and that certain portions of the poem referring to Raleigh were revised in order to have a more immediate application to his affairs.

#### ii. Identification of Poets, Ladies, Courtiers and Shepherds

A summary of all the suggested identifications with critical comment.

#### iii. The dating of *Colin Clout*

A presentation of the problem of the dates of *Colin Clout*, Kilcolman, Dec. 27, 1591 and *Daphnaïda*, London, Jan. 1, 1591. Spenser was following the modern calendar year, and using the new style of dating.

### II. Literary Problems

#### i. The versification of *Colin Clout*

A careful examination of Spenser's treatment of the cross-rimed quatrain. His selection of this particular form was due, probably, to its popularity with Raleigh and with other contemporary "courtly makers."

#### ii. *Colin Clout* and the Pastoral Genre

A study of Spenser's indebtedness to classical sources in his pastoral poem and an examination of his modification of the classical pastoral in accordance with Renaissance tradition. "To the form of the classical eclogue, Spenser has added the style, the sophistication, the satire, the allegory and the unreality which had become a part of the Renaissance pastoral and pastoral romance.

#### iii. *Colin Clout* and the Court of Love

Certain passages in *Colin Clout* do not belong to the pastoral tradition but are Spenser's expression of his interpretation of the medieval court of love theories. Spenser emphasizes the platonic side of the medieval ideas.

#### iv. The relationship of *Colin Clout* to Spenser's other work

*Colin Clout* contains an expression of all the problems, personal and literary, which interested Spenser throughout his life. The poem repeats many of his early themes, and suggests others which he developed later. (Cf. *C. C. C. H. A.* 835-894 and *H. of L.*) This particular study traces these ideas through his works; i. e., love for Rosalind, interest in Ireland, a new love, personal allegory, his growing sense of his own power, the friendship of Raleigh and others, his praise of Queen Elizabeth, his dual attitude toward the court, his interest in satire, in the pastoral form, his continued noble conception of poetry and his exalted platonism.



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## SPENSER AND RALEGH

By KATHRINE KOLLER

Into his masterpiece a poet pours his care, his skill, his love and all his genius, but into a minor poem he often puts a more personal note and reveals to those who seek, the intimate facts of his life. This is true of Spenser in *Colin Clout's Come Home Againe*. Here the poet becomes frankly autobiographical and tells the story of his meeting with Raleigh in Ireland, that nobleman's delight in Spenser's poetry, and the subsequent journey to the court where the *Faerie Queene* was presented to Elizabeth.

Possibly the most interesting topic is the one which grows out of the meeting of Spenser and his patron Sir Walter Raleigh. What was the relationship between these two men? It is my purpose to examine that connection and to show how Spenser's poetry is colored by his friendship with Raleigh, how he sought to portray his patron in the best possible light as Timias in the *Faerie Queene*, even as he had shadowed Lord Grey, a former patron, in the character of Arthegal; and secondly, to show that the publication of *Colin Clout*, delayed from 1591 to 1595, may be considered as a part of Spenser's loyal support of his friend Raleigh, who in 1595 was striving for a complete restoration to royal favor.

The friendship of Raleigh and Spenser forms the fascinating undersong in the study of *Colin Clout's Come Home Againe*. To understand what part this little poem plays in the relations of the two men necessitates a brief examination of the periods in their lives when they were brought together. We are certain of only one encounter, that which is described in poetic terms in *Colin Clout*; we conjecture an earlier acquaintance in the days of the Desmond rebellion in Ireland and the massacre at Smerwick. Our interest is stirred by the thought of these men who are so representative of Elizabethan life. In Raleigh we see the versatile statesman, courtier, adventurer, and poet, whose arrogance made him hated and whose charm drew men to him irresistibly; in Spenser we see the poet and the idealist whose

spirit caught fire from the noble courtier whom he knew, and who sought to be the statesman as well as the poet. Each found in the other the complement of his own nature. It is easy to believe that there was a closer bond between these two than usually existed between patron and poet. A brief review of the lives of the men from the time of their first known meeting in Ireland in 1580 until the last record of their relationship in 1595 may help to make clear the traces of this friendship which we find in Spenser's poetry.

Though both men were under the patronage of the Earl of Leicester at the same time, no definite information about them occurs until the story of the siege and massacre of Fort del Ore at Smerwick, Ireland, under Lord Grey in 1580. Spenser was secretary to Lord Grey and Raleigh an ambitious young captain. Spenser in the *Veue of Ireland* writes a defense of Lord Grey's actions on that memorable occasion and he writes with all the vigor of an eye-witness.<sup>1</sup> Raleigh took an active part in the slaughter, for Hooker in his supplement to *Holinshed's Chronicle* describes Raleigh's part in the bloody affair: "Captain Raleigh [and others] . . . entered into the castle and made great slaughter."<sup>2</sup>

Only once again do the names of Raleigh and Spenser appear together. A letter of the Lord Deputie to the Earl of Leicester in 1581 is certified by Spenser, and in this letter is a complaint on the part of one David Barry against Sir Warham St. Leger and Raleigh who have a commission to kill him and divide his estate.<sup>3</sup> Spenser must have been aware of the activities of this ambitious young soldier.

Raleigh's stay in Ireland was not long. We know that in December, 1581, he was back in England with reports from the Lord Deputie;<sup>4</sup> and shortly after we find him with Leicester in the Low Countries. Although the Queen in April, 1582, issued

<sup>1</sup> *Works of Edmund Spenser*, ed. A. B. Grosart (1882-4), 9. 166: "For this I can assure you, myself beinge as neare them as any, that he was so farre from promisinge or putting [them] in hope, that when first their Secretary, called, as I remember Signor Jeffrey, an Italian [being] sent to with the Lord Deputie for grace was flatly refused."

<sup>2</sup> *Holinshed's Chronicles* (1808), 6. 439.

<sup>3</sup> *CSP, Ireland, 1574-1585*, p. 293.

<sup>4</sup> Edward Edwards, *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh* (1868), 1. 46.

a warrant for Raleigh's appointment as the head of a band of footmen in Ireland he was "by Us excused to stay here."<sup>5</sup> A record of the payment of 100 £ for his Irish services seems to close the account of Raleigh's military career in Ireland.

But if this career was short, it was crowded with activity and marked by the restlessness and brilliance which colored his entire life. Hooker relates a number of stories of his personal bravery, the devotion of his soldiers, and his daring attacks on the Irish rebels.<sup>6</sup> And the records of the State Papers show his interest in the Irish affairs and his own desire for personal advancement. He strove to catch the Queen's attention,<sup>7</sup> criticized Lord Grey and drew up "plots" concerning the best way to control Ireland.<sup>8</sup> In this last Raleigh was successful in getting the recognition of Burghley. Brave and ambitious, Raleigh began his march to fame in the days of his Irish service.

All connection between Spenser and Raleigh is apparently broken for the next seven years and there is no account of any meeting until that of 1589 when Raleigh returned to Ireland. Spenser remained in Ireland, and Raleigh became one of the most influential figures in Elizabeth's court. A very brief sketch of the history of these seven intervening years will show the great heights to which Raleigh rose. We can then see more clearly the status and power of the man who renewed his friendship with Edmund Spenser in 1589 and who was ready to become the influential patron of the author of the *Faerie Queen*.

The true story of Raleigh's rise in Elizabeth's favor probably can never be written. What part the influence of such men as Walsingham and Burghley plays in his advancement, and what part can be attributed to his own engaging personality, we can never fully know. But the records show us a steady shower of gifts and grants from the Crown during the years 1583 to 1589.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46. See also *CSPI*, 1574-1585, p. 364 (May 7, 1582), for Grey's comment.

<sup>6</sup> *Holinshead* 6. 442, 493.

<sup>7</sup> *CSPI*, 1574-1585, p. 381 (Dec. 4, 1581).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 340, no. 12 (Jan. 12, 1582). Also Edwards, *Life* 2. 3-4.

<sup>9</sup> 1583—Lease of land from All Souls College, Oxford.

1583—Farm of wine.

1584—License to export woolen broadcloths renewed, and enlarged 1585, 1587, 1589.

1586-87—Important Irish land grants.

1587—Grant of lands falling to Crown in Babington Plot.

And with this increase in fortune came an equally steady rise in rank. In 1584 he was knighted; in 1585 he became Warden of the Stannaries in Cornwall and then Lieutenant of Cornwall and Vice-Admiral of Devon and Cornwall. Supposedly at this time he was also a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber. The highest position to which he attained was that of Captain of the Yeoman of the Guard in 1586, a position that brought him daily into the Queen's presence and kept him, when on duty, within earshot of all council matters.

The enumeration of honors and grants which Raleigh received does not take into consideration the variety of his interests and activities. He was a poet of some note and a patron of the arts. Hakluyt and Herriott give evidence of his interest in exploration. In the 1583 expedition to America of his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Raleigh eagerly invested. The next year, 1584, he received his own patent for colonization in America and he never lost interest in the fate of the early colony in Virginia. The Americas always seemed to Raleigh lands of golden opportunity to be won for the glory and extension of Elizabeth's kingdom. With the years, the vision of the young captain in Ireland stretched to include far horizons and a world empire.

During the conflict with Spain Raleigh was a member of the anti-Spanish group. According to his account in his *History of the World*, he was an active participant in the defeat of the Armada, though he played but a minor rôle. In September of 1588 he, with Sir Richard Grenville, was commissioned to patrol the Irish coast to prevent any of the Spanish fleet taking refuge there. Apparently the plan fell through, for there is no further record of it in the State papers. And Raleigh next set sail to plunder the seas under pretence of restoring Don Antonio to the throne of Portugal.

The year 1589 found Raleigh in Ireland again for reasons which have never been very clear. Gossip placed the blame on Essex. A letter of Sir Francis Allen on August 17, 1589, to Anthony Bacon, the friend of Essex, says, "My Lord of Essex hath chased Mr. Raleigh from the Court and hath confined him in Ireland."<sup>10</sup> The gossip must have been widespread for

<sup>10</sup> W. Stebbing, *Sir Walter Raleigh* (1891), p. 69. See also T. Birch, *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (1755) 1. 56.

Raleigh upon his return to England in December, 1589, felt called upon to write to Sir George Carew. He assures him of his continued power at court and her Majesty's favor, and then adds, "As for my retrait from court it was upon good cause to take order for my prize."<sup>11</sup>

A glance at the State Papers for Ireland for 1588-1592 gives some suggestion of matters which may have sent Raleigh to Ireland—matters of business and state and not a matter of disgrace.<sup>12</sup> A message of January 25, 1589, from the Privy Council to the Lord Deputy announces that Sir Walter Raleigh has undertaken to raise two hundred of the six hundred men appointed to be levied in Ireland. And the records for the next month show Raleigh's activity in this matter. Furthermore a record for June shows a warrant is given to take surrender of a grant of 42,000 acres to Sir Walter Raleigh and thereupon to make him a new grant of one whole seignory containing 12,000 acres. Possibly this was the "prize."

Thus we know that Raleigh was in Ireland from at least July, 1589, to the following November. This was the time of the second meeting of Raleigh and Spenser, a meeting full of lasting importance for them both and one idyllically recorded in *Colin Clout*. It was at this time that Raleigh saw the *Faerie Queene* and persuaded Spenser to accompany him to court with this tribute to Elizabeth.<sup>13</sup>

Spenser in the years that had passed since the days of Smerwick had not been idle. He had received rewards for his work as Secretary to Lord Grey in grants of land and money.<sup>14</sup> Although the list of land grants is imposing, the monetary value was probably quite low and Spenser never held them all at one time. On the recall of Lord Grey, Spenser evidently decided to cast his lot in Ireland. For two years he was among the Commissioners of Musters in County Kildare, and later he became

<sup>11</sup> Edwards, *Life* 2. 41; *Cal. Carew MSS* (1589-1600), p. 15, no. 37.

<sup>12</sup> *CSPI*, 1588-1592, pp. 214, 297, 303.

<sup>13</sup> Raleigh returned to England sometime in November, 1589 (*vide* letter to Carew of Dec., 1589). The *Stationers Register* enters the *Faerie Queene* December 1, 1589. Spenser probably went with him.

<sup>14</sup> Spenser received part of the Desmond estates, a lease of house in Dublin; the New Abbey in County Kildare, a three-year grant of part of the Newland, a twenty-one year lease of Enniscorthy.

Clerk of the Government Council of Munster.<sup>15</sup> At that time he was in possession of his home at Kilcolman, and here along the banks of the "Mulla" (Awbeg) he met Raleigh again.<sup>16</sup>

There were many things which might have drawn these men together at this time. They were neighbors; the estates were not far apart, and the city of Cork a central point for the English. They had known each other at Smerwick. And their political interests were the same. Spenser had been close to Leicester and Sidney in opposition to Burghley. So had Raleigh, and in spite of quarrels with Essex and friendship with Burghley he belonged to the anti-Spanish, or what might be termed Liberal party. His views and Spenser's coincided in many ways.<sup>17</sup> As Irish undertakers both men were concerned with the conditions in Ireland. Spenser gave expression to his opinions in the *Veue*, where, however, he remarks that his ideas are based on the wise counsels of men who were capable of governing the land. Possibly we have Raleigh's opinion ingrafted in the *Veue of Ireland*, for his letters of 1580-2 show that he favored the same policies which Spenser advocates in his dissertation.

But it is as poets that they met in *Colin Clout*. Raleigh had already been cited with Sidney, Dyer, Greville and other "courtly makers" in *The Arte of English Poesie*. The lofty tone, the sweetness and the melancholy of his poetry indicate the idealist and the dreamer who was capable of appreciating the beauty and nobility of Spenser's poetry. At this meeting in Ireland Raleigh found a friend; Spenser, a patron.

Thus briefly the contacts between Raleigh and Spenser have been summarized. After a period of seven years, they met again. Raleigh was powerful at court, and Spenser was a mature poet. Between poet and patron a close bond seems to have developed, so that Spenser was ready to follow Raleigh's advice and write the much needed introductory letter to the *Faerie Queene*. Raleigh paid tribute to Spenser's poetic power in patronage and in sonnets. Spenser's next reference to Raleigh comes in *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*. The poem was begun in 1591, as the introduction shows us, but it was not pub-

<sup>15</sup> F. I. Carpenter, *A Reference Guide to Edmund Spenser*, pp. 16-8; see also R. Jenkins, "Spenser and the Clerkship of Munster," *PMLA* 47 (1932). 110.

<sup>16</sup> R. Heffner, "Spenser's Acquisition of Kilcolman," *MLN* 46 (1931). 493-8.

<sup>17</sup> E. Greenlaw, "Spenser and British Imperialism," *MP* 9. 347-370.

lished until 1595. This unaltered dedicatory letter indicates that the bond existing between poet and patron in 1591 remained unchanged in 1595. And the delayed publication of the poem seems to indicate, as this paper will attempt to show, that Spenser was trying in 1595 to play his part in helping Raleigh to return to Elizabeth's favor, a favor lost in 1592 by his marriage to Elizabeth Throckmorton. Spenser, grateful to the man who sponsored the *Faerie Queene*, remained loyal to him in his time of trial.

Let us consider then the ways in which the relationship between Spenser and his patron has found expression in Spenser's work. The first appears in the outspoken tributes which Spenser paid to Raleigh; the second way is through the subtle allegory of the *Faerie Queene*; and the third expression of Raleigh's influence may be in the delayed publication of *Colin Clout*, with the possible revision of certain portions of the poem.

Spenser first pays tribute to Raleigh in the dedicatory sonnet to the *Faerie Queene*, which begins:

To thou that art the Summer's nightingale,  
Thy souveraine Goddesses most deare delight.

Here and in the prologue to Book III of the *Faerie Queene* Spenser speaks of Raleigh as a poet whose music though martial is lofty and whose verse is "sweet with nectar sprinkled"—a "delituous Poet" whose "melting sweetness" has ravished Spenser's senses. In these same lines he refers to Raleigh's poem to Cynthia, then unpublished, called *The Ocean to Cynthia*, in which "a gracious servant pictured" "his heavens fairest light." The praise, though fulsome, rings sincerely and gives us a conception of that portion of Raleigh's poem now lost. These dedicatory stanzas, unquestionably written after the meeting along the Mulla in 1589, give us some idea of the poem Raleigh may have read to Spenser as related in *Colin Clout*.

The two dedicatory letters next show Raleigh's influence on Spenser. The letter attached to the *Faerie Queene* was written, so the poet says, at Raleigh's request. Beyond the reference to Spenser's Belpheobe as fashioned after Raleigh's "own conceit of Cynthia (Phoebe and Cynthia being both names of Diana)" there is no personal reference. In the dedication of *Colin Clout*, a different note is struck. Spenser evidently replies to Raleigh's

joking comments on his idle life; he speaks gratefully of favors done on "his late being in England"; asks his protection against those who would "carpe at and misconstrue his simple meaning"; and closes with a very personal note. Undoubtedly the friendship begun perhaps in 1581, in the days of the Desmond Rebellion, had ripened into stronger ties.

In the poem *Colin Clout* Spenser pays tribute to Raleigh under the guise of the Shepherd of the Ocean, a name chosen as a tribute not only to Raleigh's maritime prowess, but also to his poem *The Ocean to Cynthia*. He is the one who, "coming from the main-sea deepe" found Colin (Spenser) along the banks of the Mulla. Here the two enjoyed each other's poetic skill. "He pip'd I sung," said Colin; and "When I sung he piped." Colin sang the story of the love of the Mulla and the Bregog, two Irish rivers; but Raleigh sang

a lamentable lay  
Of great unkindness and of usage hard  
Of Cynthia, the Ladie of the sea.

Raleigh persuaded Colin to go to court with him and receive Cynthia's (Elizabeth's) praise.

As a young rustic, Colin asks who rules the sea and is told that all belongs to Cynthia who is "shepherdesse of the sea." Raleigh is made to add,

And I among the rest of many least  
Have in the Ocean charge to me assigned:  
Where I will live or die at her behest  
And serve and honour her with faithful mind.

Upon his return Colin praises the poets of the court, and among them,

that shepheard of the Ocean is  
Who spends his wit in love's consuming smart  
Full sweetly tempered is that Muse of his  
That can empierce a Princes mighty heart

Thus under a scarcely veiled allegory Spenser pays a deliberate tribute to Raleigh as a poet, as a servant of the Queen, and as an honored patron.

Moreover, the verse form of *Colin Clout* is a cross-rimed quatrain form exceedingly popular with Raleigh. His elegy on the death of Sir Philip Sidney published with *Colin Clout* and

*Astrophel* is written in that stanza. Spenser was undoubtedly paying Raleigh a compliment in selecting this particular form and metre for *Colin Clout*.<sup>18</sup>

The influence of this relationship between Raleigh and Spenser found expression likewise in the political allegory of the *Faerie Queene*. Upton, in his edition of the *Faerie Queene*, was the first to pay close attention to Spenser's remark at the beginning of Book III, that he is "making antique praises unto present persons fit." So, among other identifications, Upton believes that Raleigh is reflected in the character of Timias. Editors and commentators since Upton have accepted the identification, but they have made little effort to connect the picture of Timias with the facts of Raleigh's life. This brief study hopes to show that Spenser's characterization of Timias, in Books III, IV, and VI, was colored by the personality of Raleigh, by the events of his career and by Spenser's own desire to present his patron in favorable light.

As has been previously shown in this discussion, the prologue to Book III pays especial tribute to Raleigh, and the poet definitely states that he is foreshadowing the Queen as Belpheobe and portraying "present persons" under an ancient guise. It is in this book that Timias as a definite character appears. The nameless squire of Arthur in Books I and II takes color and personality. On reviewing the story of Timias, we find him leaving the pursuit of Florimel to Arthur and Guyon while he tracks the wicked foster. The foster escapes to the woods and, joined by his two brothers, attacks Timias at a ford. Timias kills them, but is himself badly wounded. Here Belpheobe finds him, bears him to a dainty place and heals his wound with herbs, among which is tobacco. Timias falls in love with his benefactress, but the difference in their stations makes this love hopeless. He swears eternal fealty to Belpheobe; and when they next appear in Book IV, Timias is in her train.

Superficially, there is nothing in this story that cannot be paralleled by episodes in the romances. But following Spenser's suggestion that he is fitting antique praise to present persons, let us attempt to find definite resemblances between the story of Timias in Book III and episodes in Raleigh's life in Ireland.

<sup>18</sup> E. Gosse, *Athenæum* (Jan. 9, 1886), p. 66.

Timias is young, reckless and the squire of Arthur. Raleigh at the time of his Irish experiences was a follower of Leicester, who is shadowed as Arthur in the *Faerie Queene*. The three fosters who attack Timias might well be the three Desmonds who led the Irish rebellion and who drew Raleigh—as Timias—into the rough woods of Ireland. The adventure of Timias at the ford is reminiscent of an Irish adventure of Raleigh's which Hooker relates. Raleigh and his companions rode into the ambush at a little ford, but like Timias succeeded in overcoming the enemy.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, the mention of Belphoebe's use of tobacco has been counted a compliment to Raleigh.<sup>20</sup> Harriot, the friend of Raleigh, writes of the medicinal values of the herb in his *Briefe and true report of the Newfound land of Virginia* (1588).

Timias' bravery brought him to the attention of Belphoebe. Similarly Raleigh seems to have attracted friends at court and royal attention through his Irish career.

But there is a paper written partly by Burghley and partly by Raleigh, dated 25 October 1582, entitled "The Opinion of Mr. Rawley upon notions made to him for the meanes of subduing the Rebellion in Monster."<sup>21</sup> The paper is evidently a report of an interview with Raleigh and presents matters by which Raleigh had gained the Queen's ear. Moreover, this paper shows that through his Irish experiences Raleigh has gained the attention of those who counted at court. A warrant was issued from Greenwich April 1, 1582, for Raleigh's reappointment as a captain in Ireland, and to this was added "and for that he is, for some consideration, by Us excused to stay here." Evidently Elizabeth kept Raleigh by her side, even as Belphoebe did Timias. The next appearance of Timias and Belphoebe occurs in *F. Q.* 4. 7. 8. Here Spenser treats of noble love between men, between women, and the most difficult problem of all, the friendship between men and women, and in the allegory of Belphoebe and Timias, between a queen and her servant. In Book

<sup>19</sup> *Holinshed* 6. 441, 442. This correspondence is pointed at by Pauline Henley, *Spenser in Ireland* (Cork and London, 1928), by Philo M. Buck, Jr., *Nebraska University Studies* 11 (1911). 184-5, and suggested in Dean Church's *Life of Spenser*.

<sup>20</sup> Thomas Warton, *Observations on Spenser's Faerie Queene* (1762) 2. 165.

<sup>21</sup> Edwards, *Life* 2. 3-4.

IV, Timias and Belphoebe hunting in the forest come upon Amoret pursued by Lust. Timias rushes to the Lady's relief, and finally rescues her. Lust had used her as a shield against Timias' attack, and Amoret had received one wound at the hands of Timias. At the crucial moment Belphoebe arrives and drives the monster to his cave where she slays him. Upon her return she finds Timias caressing Amoret. Angry and hurt, Belphoebe's first impulse is to slay the offending pair, but with one word of reproach she turns and flees. When Timias would follow, she drives him away and forbids him her presence. He seeks refuge in a wood and there moans out his life and love. Sorrow so changes him that his own Prince Arthur fails to recognize him. After some time a dove wearing a jewel, Belphoebe's gift, attracts her attention and draws the huntress back to her squire. Moved by his sorrow, she forgives him and restores him to her favor.

One is inclined to find in this incident personal or political allegory because of the nature and length of the account. Belphoebe and Timias are brought in to Book IV to rescue Amoret, a deed which any other character might easily have performed. After the rescue Amoret is forgotten, but the poet continues for twenty-nine stanzas to relate the affairs of Timias and Belphoebe and at its conclusion drops them from the book. It is in this story that most commentators read Spenser's account of Raleigh's affair with Elizabeth Throckmorton and his subsequent disgrace and imprisonment.

Incidents in Raleigh's career may easily be found that will parallel the story of Timias. Timias and Amoret are in the power of Greedie Lust, and Amoret is wounded by Timias who would protect her. So Raleigh and Elizabeth Throckmorton are the victims of lust before their marriage, and the scandal wounds the lady.

The Queen's conduct on the discovery of Raleigh's love parallels that of Belphoebe. Wounded to the quick, she sends Raleigh to the Tower, even as Belphoebe drives Timias away. Raleigh's conduct in the Tower is reminiscent of Timias in exile. He protests his devotion to the irate Queen in a letter to Burghley;<sup>22</sup> and like one mad struggles with his guard in attempting to

<sup>22</sup> *Cecil Papers* (Historical Mss. Com.) 4. 220.

jump into the Thames to reach the Queen in her barge.<sup>23</sup> At this time it appears that Raleigh wrote the last portion of his poem *The Ocean to Cynthia*, and like Timias, wrote the name Belpheobe in verse and carved it on the trees.<sup>24</sup>

Timias' reconciliation with Belpheobe is brought about through the instrumentality of the dove bearing a jewel belonging to Timias. Is this a poet's adaptation of Raleigh's contribution of 80,000 £ from the Grand Carrick prize? Raleigh's partial restoration to royal favor followed this gift; for Raleigh, like Timias, had to wait for time to soften the heart in which were "bitter thoughts which deepe infixed lay."

Two points in the Timias-Belpheobe story do not fit the incidents of Raleigh's disgrace. Timias does not marry Amoret and Raleigh does marry Elizabeth Throckmorton; and in the second place, Timias is restored to Belpheobe, but Raleigh, though released from the Tower, is not restored to favor until 1597.

In answer to the first point we must remember that the chief concern of the poet was to stress, not Raleigh's crime, but his devotion to the Queen—which he does, if Timias is Raleigh, for some twenty-six stanzas.

In the second place, I believe Raleigh's chief concern and also that of Spenser, was to see Raleigh released from the Tower. When this release was effected, a complete restoration was likely to follow, and Spenser in poetic guise so describes it. That marks the blending, the transition from the relation of actual events to the land of Faerie.

This was ever Spenser's habit. We trace with keenest interest the allegory only to find the story slipping from us and becoming once more part of the faerie romance. It is a fact which we must never allow ourselves to forget in dealing with the political allegories of Spenser. It is not only a poetical method but also a wise precaution. The poet, daring as he was, could not afford to be too bold and make his meaning too plain in a court which was sensitive to every insinuation. So in the midst of an allegory, the poet shifts his course and deliberately confuses his readers. "'Tis here! 'Tis there! 'Tis gone!"

In *F. Q.* 4. 11. 22, we find another evidence of Spenser's inter-

<sup>23</sup> P. F. Tytler, *Life of Sir Walter*, pp. 119, 120; also T. Birch, *Work of Sir Walter Raleigh* (1751) I. xxvii-xxviii.

<sup>24</sup> Agnes Latham, *The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh* (1929), notes, p. 178.

est in Raleigh's affairs as late as 1595 or 1596. Into the account of the wedding of the Medway and the Thames Spenser brings the Amazon river and speaks of the warlike women who possess that "land of gold"; and urges brave men to conquer the land.

But this to you, O Britons most pertaines  
To whom the right hereof it selfe hath sold;  
The which for sparing little cost or paines  
Loose so immortall glory, and so endlesse gaines.

The "land of gold" is undoubtedly Guiana from whose exploration Raleigh had returned in the autumn of 1595. His description of the country, the Amazon women, and his pleas to the Queen and others to sieze the land finds expression in *The Discovery of Guiana*, which he published early in 1596. The similarity between Spenser's lines and Raleigh's treatise would indicate that Spenser saw the manuscript and was inspired by his patron's own fervour.<sup>25</sup>

Timias does not appear in Book V, but in *F. Q.* 6. 5. 12 ff. and 6. 6. 1-6, we find Timias in conflict with the Blatant Beast. Once more in favour with Belpheobe he is, nevertheless, beset by many foes who "did maligne him" and "with unjust detraction him did beard." Among the most spiteful are Despetto, Decetto, and Defetto who, sure of his bold recklessness, lure him into the woods. Partly wounded, he is pursuing the Blatant Beast when these three attack and overpower him. Arthur, however, comes to his rescue. They later find Serena also wounded by the Beast and Arthur takes both to the hermit to be healed. Through the remainder of the Book, Timias becomes the "Gentle Squire," and after his departure from the hermitage is enthralled by Disdaine in an attempt to rescue Mirabell. Here again he is saved by Arthur.

The story of Timias can once more be paralleled by the life of Raleigh. Upton finds in Timias and Serena, Raleigh and his wife, suffering from the wounds of the Blatant Beast, or malicious scandal. And the poet suggests that such wounds can be healed only by a life above reproach. Raleigh like Timias suffered from the maliciousness of those who envied him. Bold

<sup>25</sup> George Chapman espouses Raleigh's cause and prefixes a poem *De Guiana, Carman Epicum* to Keymis's *A Relation of a Second Voyage to Guiana* (1596). Spenser would surely do no less for Raleigh.

and rash, he fought back, as did Timias. The letters of Raleigh will indicate his battle with evil tongues. He writes concerning the Throckmorton gossip to Cecil, March 10, 1592, "I mean not to cume away, as they say I will, for feare of a marriage and I know not what"; to Lord Howard, August, 1592, "I see ther is a determinacion to disgrace mee and ruin mee." Several portions of the last part of *The Ocean to Cynthia* reflect

What faythless frinds, or deipe dissembled art  
Present, to feede her most unkynde suspect.

His dedication of *The Discovery of Guiana* reveals the malicious gossip about his great enterprise:

They have grosly belied me, that foreiudge that I wolde rather become a servant to the Spanish king, than return, and the rest were much mistaken who woulde have perswaded that I was too easeful and sensuall to undertake a iorney of so great travel.

Raleigh's lot was common to every courtier. Leicester, Essex, and Sidney suffered from the Blatant Beast. Serena, too might be Lettice Knollys, Lady Essex, Mary Felton, Elizabeth Vernon or countless others. But because the circumstances of this last adventure fit the case of Raleigh so well and because he was shadowed as Timias in other books of *The Faerie Queene*, we may still read Spenser's portrait of Sir Walter in Book VI.<sup>26</sup>

Thus we see that Spenser wove the story of his friend Raleigh into the historical allegory of the *Faerie Queene*. Before 1590 the account of Raleigh as Timias shows him to be a bold and gallant squire and a loyal servant to Belphoebe his Queen. Even as Raleigh won his way to Elizabeth, so does Timias by brave, yet rash deeds, bring himself to the attention of Belphoebe, who claims thereafter his loyal service. When in the years between 1592 and 1596 the history of Raleigh underwent great changes and the courtier suffered imprisonment and disgrace, Spenser was not unmindful of his patron's fate, and the poet paid his debt to his friend in a manner best calculated to be of service. In the story of Timias, Amoret, and Belphoebe

<sup>26</sup> For further discussions of Spenser's picture of Raleigh see "C" in *Notes and Queries*, Series 3 (1863). 4. 65-6; P. M. Buck, Jr., "On the Political Allegory in the *Faerie Queene*," *Nebraska University Studies* 11 (1911). 159-92.

we find the story of Raleigh, Elizabeth Throckmorton, and Queen Elizabeth. Spenser in his poetic adaptation of the incidents in the affair stressed the most important problem—the devotion of a humble servant to his queen. Moreover, he handled it in such a way as to show that Timias' love for Amoret in no way changed his devotion to Belphoebe. Likewise Raleigh's love for Elizabeth Throckmorton never altered his love for his royal mistress, Queen Elizabeth. The final appearance of Timias in the last book of the *Faerie Queene* is still in keeping with the life of Raleigh. Timias, rash as ever, was an easy prey to his enemies who strove to overthrow him by trickery and slander. The very brief summary of Raleigh's life which is given here shows the struggle which he had in 1595 after the Guiana voyage to fight against his enemies. Raleigh felt that his disgrace kept him from complete restoration; and in the case of Timias we find that slander and malice have kept him in an hermitage even as Raleigh was kept by his disgrace at his home in Sherborne. No one at court was free from the wounds of the Blatant Beast, and Raleigh, like Timias, was one who suffered intensely. To claim that Spenser in the story of Timias parallels in exact detail the life of Raleigh as we know it, would be an absurd contention. That was never Spenser's allegorical method; he was always turning from actual circumstances to deliberate mystification. I believe, however, that we can claim to find in Spenser's portrayal of Timias his interpretation and glorification of his patron Raleigh.

The third way in which Raleigh's influence on Spenser finds expression is in the delayed publication and revision of *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*. The consensus of opinion seems to be that *Colin Clout* was written, as the dedication says, in December, 1591 (new style), and after several revisions it was printed in 1595.<sup>27</sup> Collier suggests that the earlier draft of the poem was probably sent to Raleigh, who caused some emendations to be made and who possibly held up the printing until a more favorable time. For in June, 1592, Raleigh was in the Tower because of his affair with Mistress Throckmorton. 1595 was a far more propitious date for the publication of a work dedicated to Raleigh. The events of 1595 would indicate that

<sup>27</sup> J. P. Collier, *Works of Edmund Spenser* (1873) 1. lxxxiii, lxxxviii, xcii ff.

Spenser deliberately selected that year to publish a poem in praise of his patron and friend to present him in a favorable light and play a part in helping Raleigh to a complete restoration to favor.

Raleigh as we know was imprisoned in June, 1592, for his marriage to Elizabeth Throckmorton. And the Queen kept him a prisoner until the late autumn of that year. In 1593 he was active in Parliament, but he was not at court. 1594 was spent in retirement at his home in Sherborne planning to recover royal favor by a trip to Guiana. Raleigh's dedication of *The Discovery of Guiana* clearly shows his purpose:

If I had known another way to win, if I had imagined how greater adventure might have regained, if I could conceive further means I might yet use, but to appease so powerful a displeasure, I would not doubt but for one year more to hold fast my soul in my teeth, till it were performed. . . . But if what I have done receive the gracious construction of a painful Pilgrimage, and purchases the least Remission, I shall think it all too little, and that were wanting to the rest many miseries.<sup>28</sup>

He set sail in February, 1595, and a letter of Sir Thomas Heneage to Robert Cecil, September 9, 1595, reports Raleigh home, well and rich.<sup>29</sup> Raleigh now gathered all his energies. He presented his Guiana discoveries and his plans to exploit the land. His letters to Cecil during November, 1595, show his anxiety as to the outcome.<sup>30</sup> In December he came to London and his hopes and plans seem to be materializing, for Mr. Whyte writes,

There is great means for Sir Walter Raleigh's coming to court. He lives about London very gallant. His voyage goes forward. My Lord Treas. ventures him 500 £ in money. Sir Robert Cecil ventures a new ship bravely furnished, the very hull stands in 800 £.<sup>31</sup>

He was not content with the offer of his Guiana discovery but also sought service in the fleet with Admiral Howard, for he was one "who would purchase her majestie's favor with what labor or peril soever."<sup>32</sup> Raleigh was determined to be restored. Does

<sup>28</sup> *Works of Sir Walter Raleigh*, ed. Birch (1751), 2. 140.

<sup>29</sup> *Cecil Papers* 5. 368.

<sup>31</sup> *Sidney Papers* 1. 377.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 444, 457, 472.

<sup>32</sup> *Cecil Papers* 5. 477.

it not seem likely that Spenser, known for his loyalty to his patrons, should choose 1595 as an appropriate time for the publication of *Colin Clout*? Possibly Raleigh himself suggested it. For in this poem we have Raleigh presented as the loyal servant of the Queen, and Elizabeth is pictured in her most gracious mood. The publication of *Colin Clout* in 1595 was in a sense propaganda for Raleigh. Its success can only be conjectured, for it took the sacking of Cadiz in 1596 to restore Raleigh to his former heights.

There is also the possibility that *Colin Clout* received certain revisions and emendations before its publication, and here I suggest that the lines which refer to Raleigh in the poem (164-175 and 428-431) were changed before 1595:

His song was all a lamentable lay,  
Of great vnkindnesse, and of vsage hard,  
Of Cynthia the Ladie of the sea,  
Which from her presence faultless him debard.  
And euer and anon with singults rife  
He cryed out, to make his vndersong  
Ah my loues queene, and goddesse of my life,  
Who shall me pittie, when thou doest me wrong?  
Then gan a gentle bony lasse to speake,  
That Marin hight, Right well he sure did plaine:  
That could great Cynthiaes sore displeasure breake,  
And moue to take him to her grace againe.

and again:

And there that shepheard of the Ocean is,  
That spends his wit in loues consuming smart:  
Full sweetly tempered is that Muse of his  
That can empiere a Princes mightie hart.

I suggest that these lines have been altered to refer to *The 11th: and Last Booke of the Ocean to Scinthia* instead of the *Cynthia* which Spenser saw at the time of the meeting in Ireland in 1589.<sup>33</sup>

This suggested revision seems plausible for several reasons. First, it is not illogical to look for further revisions in a poem in

<sup>33</sup> For reasons of clarity I shall hereafter refer to *The 11th: and Last Booke of the Ocean to Scinthia* as the *Hatfield Poem* since it is found in the Hatfield Manuscripts (*Cecil Papers*, 144); and by the title of *Cynthia* I shall refer to the ten books of *The Ocean to Cynthia* which Spenser describes in the *Faerie Queene*.

which known revisions exist. Second, the description of Raleigh's poem in *Colin Clout* fits accurately the contents and tone of the *Hatfield Poem* and does not agree with the contemporary descriptions of the *Cynthia* poem. This statement is based upon the following facts: (a) No reference to *Cynthia* up to 1591 indicates that it is a "lamentable lay," but rather the contrary—that it is a hymn of praise; (b) The *Hatfield Poem* applies closely to the events of Raleigh's life in 1592, and the lines on Raleigh's poem in *Colin Clout* also apply to the affairs of 1592 rather than to the disgrace of 1589, if that brief trip to Ireland can be termed a disgrace in comparison with the imprisonment of 1592.

In support of these contentions let us examine the following statements. Most commentators agree that the lines in *Colin Clout* (432-443) referring to Amyntas are addressed to Ferdinando Strange, Earl of Derby, who died April 16, 1594. He was the husband of Amaryllis who is undoubtedly Alice Spenser, who was married to the Earl of Derby. Todd believes that in *Colin Clout* Spenser, rebuked by Nash in his *Supplication of Pierce Penniless* (1592) for his failure to include Amyntas (Lord Strange) in his dedicatory sonnets to the *Faerie Queene*, is making amends by his lines in *Colin Clout*.

Another possible revision occurs in the lines referring to Daniel's *Complaint of Rosamond* and *Sonnets to Delia*, which he published in 1592. Spenser writes of Daniel as

Appearing well in that well tuned song  
Which late he sung unto a scornful lass.

A third revision occurs in the reference to Charillis, or Anne Spenser. One could scarcely infer from the following lines that the lady was a widow.

Thrice happie do I hold thee noble swaine,  
The which art of so rich a spoile possest,  
And it embracing deare without disdaine,  
Has sole possession in so chaste a brest:

Rather do they seem to indicate, if not a recent, certainly a very happy married state. Anne Spenser was widowed in 1589 and was not married again until December, 1592, when the

"noble swaine" was Robert Sackville, afterward Lord Buckhurst.<sup>34</sup>

On what evidence, however, can we base the suggested revision of lines 164-175 and 428-431 in *Colin Clout*? Spenser, as Colin, is describing the song which the Shepherd of the Ocean sang along the banks of the Mulla. He says it was a "lamentable lay," a song of the unkindness of Elizabeth who barred him from her presence; it is filled with sobs and complaints. This description does not fit the previous accounts of Raleigh's poem *Cynthia*.

All Spenser's references before 1591 describe Raleigh's poem as an unpublished poem in which "faire Cinthia's" praise is shown as

. . . Sweet verse  
In which a gracious servant pictured  
His Cynthia, his heavens fairest light.

Harvey wrote on the margin of his Chaucer, "Sir Walter Raleigh's *Cynthia* how fine and how sweet," and the author of the *Arte of English Poesie* (1589) speaks of Raleigh's "vayne for ditte and amorous ode" as "most Lofty, insolent and passionate." This does not appear as a description of the poem mentioned in *Colin Clout*.

But the description of Raleigh's song in *Colin Clout* agrees with the *Hatfield Poem*. Here is a lament. Raleigh writes:

But leave her praise, speak thou of naught but woe  
Write on the tale that Sorrow bids thee tell  
Strive to forget, and care no more to know  
Thy cares are known, by knowing those too well.

He speaks as one distracted—he recalls her former kindness—he speaks of his undying devotion:

But be it so, or not, th' effects are past  
Her love hath end, my woe must ever last.

He speaks, too, of the days when he with other shepherds sang her praise. Now he murmurs of his loss of influence:

<sup>34</sup>I am indebted to Dr. E. A. Strathmann for this suggestion in his *Critical Edition of Spenser's Muirpotmos*, MS Diss., 1930; in the Library of the Johns Hopkins University.

And those which then our Jelosye removed  
 And others for our sakes then valued deere  
 The on forgot the rest are deere beloved  
 When all of ours douth strange or vilde apeere.

His despair—

But love was gonn, So would I, my life weare  
 and

Thou lookest for light in vayne, and stormes arise  
 Shee sleaps thy death that erst thy danger sythed  
 strive then no more bow down thy weery eyes  
 eyes, which to all thes woes thy hart have guided

His changed countenance—

The sorrow worren face, the pensive minde  
 The externall shews what may th' internall bee.

His last two cantos give some suggestion of the content of his earlier poetry in praise of Elizabeth.

Divine in words, angellicall in voice  
 That spring of joys, that flower of loves own setting  
 The Idea remaining of those golden ages  
 That beauty braving heavens. . . .

But now,

Such didst thou her long since describe, yet sighing . . .  
 But what hath it availed thee so to write.

This appears to be the poem which Spenser describes in *Colin Clout*.

But why need these lines be a revision? The answer to this question lies in the fact that all evidence seems to point to the year 1592 for the composition of the *Hatfield Poem* or *The 11<sup>th</sup> and last Booke of the Ocean to Scinthia*. And this means that if Spenser is describing this poem in *Colin Clout* he is referring not to the *Cynthia* which Raleigh read to him in 1589, but to additional books written sometime during or shortly after Raleigh's imprisonment, and which may have helped as Spenser says to "empierce a Princes mightie hart."

The dating of the *Hatfield Poem* depends almost entirely on internal evidence. Miss Agnes Latham in her recent edition of Raleigh's poems finds the bulk of evidence to indicate some time

in 1592 as the date of composition.<sup>35</sup> Mr. Stebbing believes that this book was "written with the direct purpose of softening his Raleigh's mistress' obduracy."<sup>36</sup>

In summarizing the arguments for dating this poem 1592 we find the following points: (a) The appearance of the name Belpheobe (271, 327) argues for a date after 1590. Belpheobe was coined by Spenser, from whom Raleigh probably took it. (b) Lines 120-1:

Twelve yeares entire I wasted in this war  
Twelve yeares of my most happy younger dayes.

Counting back twelve years from 1592-4 would bring this reference to the years 1580-82, the period which marked the beginning of Raleigh's rise in war and his struggle for power. (c) In lines 61-7, Raleigh writes of a voyage from which he is called back by the Queen. In 1592 the Queen called him back from the Panama expedition on which he had actually set sail. (d) Lines 327 to 340 indicate that a love affair was the cause of the Queen's displeasure. (e) Elizabeth's "estranged mind" is the result of her "holdinge in mind butt only [his] offence" (373). This would indicate that some great offence had separated Raleigh and the Queen. The marriage to Elizabeth Throckmorton had exactly this effect. (f) Raleigh's letter to Cecil of July 15, 1592, written from the Tower, bears a striking resemblance in thought and language to lines 140-160 of the poem.<sup>37</sup>

This appears to be the poem which Spenser describes in *Colin Clout*. Here is the lament; here are the sobs and "singults". The description which Spenser and others give of Raleigh's poem *Cynthia* could not be applied to the *Hatfield Poem*; on the other hand the description of Raleigh's song which Spenser makes in *Colin Clout* could not be an accurate account of the *Cynthia*. The logical deduction would seem to be the one which I have suggested; i. e., that Spenser in *Colin Clout* is referring to the *Hatfield Poem*.

<sup>35</sup> A. Latham, *The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh* (1929), pp. 172-9.

<sup>36</sup> W. Stebbing, *Sir Walter Raleigh*, p. 75. For the complete history of the dating of the *Hatfield Poem* see Dr. Hannah's introduction to *The Poems of Raleigh and Wolton* (1892 ed.), and the articles of Sir Edmund Gosse, *The Athenaeum*, January 1886, pp. 32 and 66, as well as the work of Miss Latham and Mr. Stebbing.

<sup>37</sup> Edwards, *Life* 2. 51-2. Also *Cecil Papers* 4. 220.

In addition to this we find much in the poem which is reminiscent of Raleigh's letters in 1592:

1. lines 153-156:

And like a man distract, with trebell might  
bound in strong chaynes douth strive and rage in vayne  
till tired and breathless he is forst to rest  
fyndes by contention but increase of payne.

This is reminiscent of Sir Arthur Gorge's letter of July, 1592, to Cecil in which he describes Raleigh's fight with his jailors.<sup>38</sup>

2. lines 372-375:

And have forgotten all thy past deserving  
holdinge in minde butt only thyne offence  
and only now affecteth thy depravinge  
and thincks all vayne that pleadeth thy defence

The tone of this is clearly the tone of Raleigh's letter of August, 1592, to Lord High Admiral Howard: "But in the meanwhile the few mean actions of our own are utterly neglected."<sup>39</sup>

3. line 326:

But love was gone, So would I, my life were

The same note is repeated in the letter to Howard of August, 1592:

I only desire that I may be stayd no on houre from all the extreme-tye that either law or president can avowe and if that be to litle, would God it weare with al concluded that I might feed the lions, as I go by, to save labor. For the torment of mind cannot be greater.<sup>40</sup>

4. lines 448-449:

What faythless friends, or deipe dissembled art  
present, to feede her most unkynde suspect

Letter to Howard, August, 1592: "There be a determination to ruin mee."<sup>41</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Tytler, *Life*, pp. 119-120.

<sup>39</sup> Edwards, *Life* 2. 54.

<sup>40</sup> Edwards, *Life* 2. 54. *CSP, Domestic* (1591-1594), p. 265, no. 131.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

In summarizing the material we find that internal evidence points to events in Raleigh's life which occurred in 1592, such as his recall from the Panama voyage and his great offence in marrying Elizabeth Throckmorton. No other event during the Queen's life-time produced such a change in Raleigh's career. In addition, his letters of 1592 reflect the same state of mind as the poem does.

But how can we reconcile Spenser's statement that in *Colin Clout* he is writing of things "agreeing with truth and circumstance," his statement that Raleigh was "faultlesse" and that his song moved Cynthia "to take him to her grace againe" with the facts of Raleigh's life? Raleigh, it is true, had wounded Queen Elizabeth's pride, perhaps her love, but he remained faithful to her and faultless in his loyalty. How much his song had to do in restoring him to favor we can never know. Her heart was softened to release him from the Tower; but she was slow in restoring him to his position of favorite. Is Spenser in a poetic guise interpreting Raleigh's release from the Tower, even as he seems to be interpreting the same event in the story of Timias' restoration to Belpheobe's favor?

Ambitious Raleigh seeking the power he once held was not content with a release from imprisonment. The records of the years between 1592 and 1595 show his constant efforts to regain the lost favor. The letters of his enemies show their dread of his success.<sup>42</sup> Nothing was too small for him to do; nothing too great for him to risk. He finally succeeds in getting the Queen to outfit two small ships and two pinnaces "to do her service by offending the King of Spain,"<sup>43</sup> in 1594. And in 1595 comes his great effort in the Guiana expedition. Loyal friend that he always was, Spenser paid his tribute to Raleigh at this time by publishing a poem which showed Raleigh in his worthiest light and reminded a Queen of her past graciousness. It appears that Spenser revised his poem to make it serve his patron and be truly an expression of gratitude for "favours and sundry good turnes" showed to him.

Thus I have sought to trace the story of the friendship of Spenser and Raleigh. We have seen it find expression in glow-

<sup>42</sup> Thomas Birch, *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* 1. 151.

<sup>43</sup> *CSP, Domestic*, 1591-1594, Dec. 6, 1594, p. 567.

ing sonnets, in gracious compliments and in dignified letters, and subtle flattery. Less obvious perhaps, but just as true, we read the story of this friendship in the allegory of Timias in the *Faerie Queene*, an allegory in which the poet pays tribute to his patron's finest qualities, and speaks firmly against his weaknesses. And lastly, we find the complete and perfect tribute of a single poem, *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*, which in its content and in its delayed publication expresses Spenser's friendship for Raleigh the poet, and his gratitude to Raleigh his patron. This much we can discover, but some of the truth will forever remain concealed, for a poet such as Spenser touched all this with his magic, and after three hundred years we may have lost the key to hidden subtleties.

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## VITA

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